THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

March 12, 1949

LAPHAM'S AID PROPOSAL

AN EDITORIAL

How Safe And Sound Is Fukien?

Lin Chen-keng

Nanking College Crisis

Chinese Professor

Japanese Philosophy And Politics

Joshua W. K. Liao

CAPITALIST CONFUSION

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 113 GY500 NUMBER 2

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Missionaries

To The Editor:

I have read the article "What Should The US Do In China" in the *Review* of February 12 and rejoiced over the views expressed by Edgar Snow, Owen Lattimore, Harold Ickes, John K. Fairbank, Annalee Jacoby, Christopher Rand and others, but it was with misgivings that I saw Dr. Edward H. Hume's misconceptions of communism and of the causes of the Chinese Civil War in spite of his more than 40 years close association with medical missionary work in China.

I have known him personally since 1917 or earlier, and I believe that his ideas of Russian support of the Chinese Communists, of the Kuo-Kun Compromise, and of siding with Bullitt and Chennault to advocate further military aid to the outgoing regime are ignorant and threaten not only Sino-US good will but also the future of missionary work in China.

The same holds for the Rev. Thomas O'Melia's overwhelming ignorance of China after his 25 years of work with the Maryknoll Mission in China as shown in his irrational antagonism to communism, while forgetting that Jesus Christ promoted communism among his followers and that the communistic ideology of democracy and the capitalistic ideology of democracy have got to co-exist in this world, peaceably or otherwise.

I just wonder how missionaries of the Hume and O'Melia type could have stayed in China so long and how they could have helped bring about the Kingdom of God on earth. As a Christian by birth and training, if not by profession, and with the highest interests of the Christian religion at heart, I predict the eventual downfall of missionary work of this type in China, and if eventually, why not now?

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.
Chengtu, Szechuen
February 16, 1949

Hongkong Postage

To The Editor:

The outcries of some Chinese politicians for the rendition of Hongkong may sound premature in view of the utter chaos in the country. The situation, however, does not alter the fact that the population of the British colony is preponderantly Chinese and their culture is fundamentally Chinese. Chinese Government leaders, especially those bombastic irredentists, therefore, should first see to it that the cultural intercourse between China and Hongkong is facilitated by every means and not in the least impeded.

In this connection, the attention of the Government must be called to the exorbitant rate of postage for printed matter for Hongkong which constitutes a serious impediment to smooth cultural exchange between the two territories. Deliberately ignoring its cultural ties, as well as its geographical propinquity, the Chinese post office has all along

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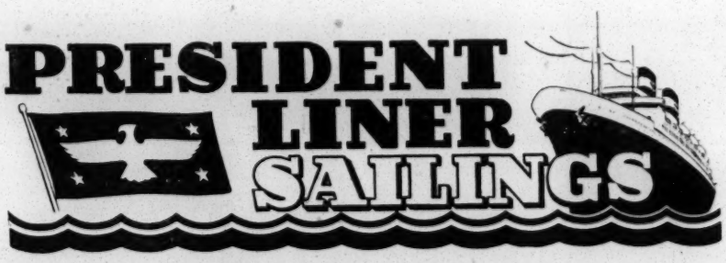

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regarded the island as a foreign area in fixing its postal rates for printed matter. According to the international rates of postage announced on March 1, the fee of GY100 is charged for the transmission from Shanghai or Canton to Hongkong of a copy of a newspaper or magazine weighing not more than 50 grams, while the domestic rate for a registered journal of the same weight is only GY2, or a mere fraction of that amount regardless of the distance of the destination, which may be many times farther away than Hongkong.

In prewar days, although the same untenable position was taken by the Chinese postal authorities, the postage for printed matter for Hongkong was only two cents per 50 grams against five cents for foreign countries.

At the official rate of the Central Bank on March 1, GY100 is equivalent to about four US cents, which is double the international postage charged by the US post office for a similar quantity of printed matter.

The straitened circumstances of the Chinese post office, which are to be attributed mainly to the vicious inflation, have the full sympathy of the public. Nobody would begrudge it the right to make an honorable attempt to augment its shrinking income, but it must not do so at the expense of the smooth flow of culture between China and her lost child. While China's leaders clamor for the return of the former Chinese territory, how ridiculous it is for her post office to put it under the category of foreign areas and thus heavily increase the cost of spiritual victuals from their fatherland required by the Chinese population there.

S. F. WEI.

Shanghai
March 4, 1949

Right Orientation

To The Editor:

I enjoy reading the *Review* very much, but I sometimes find the viewpoints of some of the contributors faulty. For example, there was an article entitled "A Plea for Malthus" in the January 29th issue in which Mr. J. R. Kaim repeats the connections of food supply and increasing population of Malthus in attempting to attribute the ills of the social system to natural conditions. The writer argues that the main way for the world to solve the serious problem of overpopulation is by improving food production on the one hand and by effecting birth control on the other.

As a matter of fact, the proverb, "The seeds ye sow, another reaps," is what is causing more unemployment and hunger at the moment than anything else. The present undesirable distribution must be entirely uprooted and a new rational one established in its stead if men are to be well fed, even

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if food productivity steadily increases.

If this periodical is to be run for the interests of mankind, it should purify its standpoint by rejecting those compositions purposely written for the benefit of a certain class and not for the people of either China or other countries, in order to ensure showing the numerous readers of the *Review* the right orientation.

In addition, as a subscriber to the *Review*, although merely for some five months, I am of the opinion that you should include literary articles. It seems too bad to cover only economic, political and military developments and leave out literature, since a great number of the readers would probably be very interested in reading prose, drama and poetry. In view of the fact that to increase the volume for this purpose would make the price of the magazine higher and thus impose a heavier burden on subscribers, it might be preferable to shorten the section devoted to "News of the Week" to one page and do away with some pieces of advertising in order to make space for the abovesaid literature.

P. F. Wang

Amoy, Fukien
March 3, 1949

(The Review also has been considering the desirability of including more literary and cultural material and hopes to be able to devote space to it at a future date. As for Mr. Wang's suggestion that we "purify" our articles, material in the Review, with the exception of the editorials, does not necessarily reflect our own opinions. In the selection of articles, particularly on controversial subjects, those which present a reasonable statement of a case, whether or not that case happens to coincide with our own views, are considered worthy of publication—Editor.)

Military Interview

To The Editor:

Recently the writer had a talk with a high military commander here in Nanking. According to this general, General Tang En-po, commander-in-chief of the Shanghai-Nanking garrison headquarters, made a visit to Fenghua a short time ago to ask Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek whether the troops should be paid two silver dollars each to improve their living conditions since commodity prices were skyrocketing. The Generalissimo's reply was "no," as he believed the situation in the future would be much worse and the silver dollars should therefore be reserved for such a time.

Asked the number of troops which the Nationalists still had, the general replied, "Still five million on the books." This would mean that 10,000,000 silver dollars would be needed if each soldier were to be paid two dollars a month.

Turning to the situation in North China, the general declared that General

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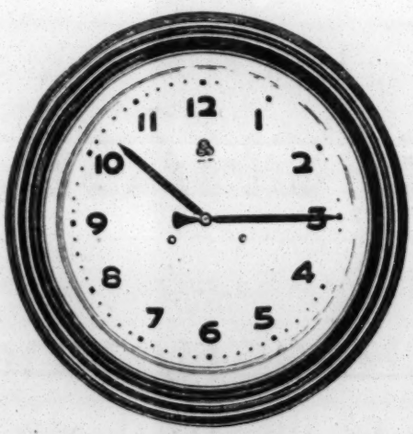

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Fu Tso-yi should have continued to fight instead of surrendering to the Communists since he had more than 100,000 troops of his own plus the Nationalist Army. General Fu's action, he said, also brought about a big financial loss to the Government, since about 13 tons of gold and some 900,000 silver dollars could not be shipped out from the Central Bank at Tientsin.

Asked whether he thought General Fu surrendered willingly to the Communists, the general said that the Communist underground workers had infiltrated into the Government and public organs and it was too late for General Fu to carry on the battle even if he had wanted to.

MARK M. LU.

Nanking
February 27, 1949

Train Ride

To The Editor:

I am sure that I have learned the true feeling of a refugee's wretchedness as a result of a 13-hour expedition on one of the so-called Shanghai-Hangchow express trains.

Just imagine having to plant your feet on a space of only a few square inches without being able to move them for hours because the train is so crowded. Fortunately I got a seat after we had gotten under way. I was perfectly content with this situation, especially when night fell and I started to doze off with curled-up legs.

The train pulled out of Shanghai at four p.m. and was scheduled to arrive in Hangchow at nine p.m. that night. Nevertheless, this grand cruise did not end until well past five a.m. the next morning, since nearly all along the line our train favored many small stations with stops ranging from a few minutes to an hour.

The most dramatic moment came when the train was at a minor stop about two miles from Hangchow. The porter made a sudden appearance and announced that the train was not going any farther for the rest of the night and he advised passengers traveling light to get out and walk to Hangchow. A few followed his advice and went off, but his unexpected announcement could not make me instantly realize that I was to pass the night on this jampacked train. As it turned out I did just this, although I could not actually sleep.

My legs were literally numb from being curled up as I jumped off the train at the Hangchow station. With a heart that is burning with anger I put down this unhappy story.

LOO SHIH-CHENG

Hangchow, Chekiang
February 9, 1949

Dirty Deed

To The Editor:

Your editorial "Strike Leaders Executed" in the February 26th issue of the *Review* aroused public attention and indignation. The execution of these three workers for leading a strike is, as you said, the most barbarous act I ever heard of. During these times of rapid currency depreciation, the workers' lives are miserable and their monthly pay is not sufficient even to buy food, let alone other necessities.

I think their demands for salary adjustment and emergency funds were reasonable. This kind of pay has been given to the staff of certain Government institutions. I don't care about their violation of martial law—the action was necessary to call attention to their plight. Such an execution as the Shanghai-Woosung Garrison headquarters carried out is not only a gross blunder but a dirty deed that will go down in Chinese history.

W. S. L.

Shanghai
March 5, 1949

Students Disappear

To The Editor:

Recently some 382 students, one fourth of the entire student body, at this university (National Hunan), have disappeared. Two thirds of this group are said to have gone to the liberated areas to study and the other third have returned to their homes.

This term the registered students amount to only 1,598, but only 1,123 students are at the school and the rest scattered in Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow, etc.

It has been rumored that the Yangtze River, at Chinkiang, has been opened for passengers to pass through and that the Communist troops have set up relief organizations at Yangchow, 30 miles north of Chinkiang, for the refugee students going to the liberated areas.

Why these students are going to the liberated areas is a problem meriting the attention of our Government.

H. S. C.

Soochow
February 23, 1949

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Lapham's Aid Proposal

ROGER LAPHAM, head of the Economic Cooperation Administration's China program, last week said he hoped that Congress would authorize the continuation of the ECA aid program in China for the next fiscal year, which begins on July 1. Mr. Lapham, according to press association dispatches, did not specify any exact amount of money, although he did say that about US$20,000,000 monthly could be spent to good advantage in maintaining the food and industrial raw materials supply programs which have been in existence for the past year.

Twenty million dollars a month would work out to about US$240,000,000 for a year. This would be spent for food and industrial raw materials only and would not include any military aid or any industrial or other rehabilitation or construction activities. It was not clear from Mr. Lapham's statement just how much "new" money would be required for such a program since he apparently envisages using this past year's unspent ECA funds during the coming fiscal year. Monies originally appropriated for many industrial construction undertakings and many reconstruction jobs have not, we understand, been wholly spent because of the shifting tides of the Civil War, the length of time it takes to build industrial plants, etc. This money, it would appear, cannot be spent for the purposes originally intended and therefore might as well be used for food rationing, raw cotton and other programs which ECA apparently feels are of a more urgent nature and which also can be handled easily and quickly.

While it is obviously difficult to form an intelligent opinion about this matter before the proposal is made officially and formally and all pertinent details are known, it is interesting to note that ECA hopes to continue its work for another year. Mr. Lapham is reported to have specifically mentioned that his recommendations were for aid in Nationalist areas alone, thus saying in effect that he has no plans for aid to regions taken over by the Communists. This would seem to be a change in attitude on the part of ECA since the time of ECA Chief Paul Hoffman's press conference in Shanghai late last year when he indicated that ECA might consider working with Communist-dominated areas if a satisfactory agreement with the Reds could be reached.

However, this shift does not come as a complete surprise since it has been evident for the past two or three months that ECA was in the process of curtailing its activities in regions directly threatened by the Reds and concentrating its attention upon the island of Taiwan and other South China areas.

It is also significant to note that Mr. Lapham does not seem prepared to ask for any funds for industrial aid other than money to buy raw materials, such as cotton, for factories. The large-scale plan for repairing and reconstructing industrial facilities, which was contained in the first year of the program for China, seems to have been jettisoned.

The fact that Mr Lapham specified a non-military program should occasion no surprise. ECA in China never was a direct military matter. The funds voted for military aid last year had nothing to do with ECA. They were added because of the insistence of a small group of Chinaphiles who were so tied to the KMT emotionally or materially that they were unable or unwilling to foresee the certain results of such a military program.

It is a bit difficult to reconcile all that Mr. Lapham is reported to have said. He is quoted as requesting further funds for areas still controlled by the KMT, while at the same time he is reported to have been of the opinion that the Reds could cross the Yangtze whenever they want to "without experiencing much military opposition." He further said, "Most Chinese are tired of war and want peace."

What, we wonder, does Mr. Lapham feel that the aid program he is asking for will accomplish under such circumstances? He doesn't want to aid Red-controlled areas, but he does want to help the people living in KMT areas. At the same time, he seems to feel that if the Communists so wish, these KMT areas will speedily cease to exist. He also appears to indicate his belief that the program of aid to KMT areas may be of short duration since he proposes only food and raw material aid—a type of help which can almost be maintained on a day to day basis and which, therefore, could be cut off the instant a city or region changes hands in the Civil War.

This all seems very confusing unless one wishes to attribute some underlying motives, such as political reasons, to the ECA director's words. Whether or not such an attribution is justified, it is true that his informal statement has had some major political results in this country. The mere fact that he said that he was formally going to recommend to Congress that the aid program be continued throughout the coming year bucked up the morale of the Nationalists greatly. As one reporter described it, the effect in the Nationalist capital could be likened to oasis water flowing through a hope-dry city. Other observers reasoned that the prospect for more American aid would give the KMT a better bargaining position with the Com-

munists, since it would plainly indicate to the Reds that Washington has not washed its hands of Nanking and that if the war continues, the Nationalists may expect to receive more aid from America. It is also possible that such encouraging words from across the sea may strengthen the hands of Acting-President Li Tsung-jen who is currently engaged in a many cornered fight for power with members of his own side. The prospect of twenty million American dollars a month, which presumably would be controlled to some extent by the legal government, might serve to draw into line a few of the more recalcitrant generals who have felt that the Nanking feed trough was empty.

* * *

WHILE—as we pointed out in the foregoing—it is perhaps unfair to criticize Mr. Lapham's statement until such time as it is presented in detail to Congress, we think that the idea of more aid under the present circumstances is not wise. Certainly, it is going to provoke a further wave of anti-American feeling from Communist areas. ECA has now definitely gone on record as being opposed to aiding the Chinese people as such. It is willing to carry out its humanitarian work of combatting unemployment and hunger among the Chinese people, but only provided that the people continue to live under the KMT. The plight of these same people ceases to be a concern of the United States once they pass under Communist rule. This certainly is partisan aid.

"WAITING FOR SANTA"

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

The proponents of exclusive aid to the Nationalists may point out that on the basis of ECA experience in Peiping, it has been found impossible to work with the Chinese Communists and that therefore ECA has had no choice in the matter but to turn exclusively to the people in this country who welcome American aid and who will cooperate with those Americans sent here to direct its distribution. We doubt if this is a valid argument.

ECA claimed it had a certain amount of foodstuffs stored in Peiping and talked a lot about it during the period preceding Communist occupation, stating publicly that this would be a test case. A short time after taking over the city, Communists simply appropriated the foodstuffs. ECA officials—and many other people—immediately began to yelp, "We told you so. You can't do business with the Reds." The Communists, however, have claimed that the materials in question had already been turned over to the KMT authorities and, therefore, were in the nature of enemy goods and thus automatically became the property of the new government.

This is a very interesting point. We think ECA should tell the public the exact status of the supplies. Had they or had they not been turned over to the KMT officials? Most observers have seen fit to assume that the supplies belonged to ECA and that they were in effect stolen by the Reds. This assumption has been based on the statements made by ECA before the Communists occupied Peiping. Now the Communists have disputed ECA's contention of ownership and ECA has not replied. By not making any further public statement, ECA has led people to believe that its original statement of ownership was correct. We wonder.

When one gives aid, one naturally expects some return. The United States, we believe, long ago gave up any ideas it may have had of receiving cash dividends upon any investment in China. We imagine that hope even for a return of principal has disappeared. The returns presumably were to be in the form of good will, plus whatever personal satisfaction might be gained from the act of giving. We would hazard a guess that returns will be forthcoming, but they will not be what the American people expect them to be. They will be in the form of increased animosity from a Communist regime which, whether America likes it or not, is slated to play a dominant, if not absolute, role in this country.

We still think that aid should be forthcoming, but we think it should be for the relief of the Chinese people during this present critical period, regardless of their political beliefs. That, we think, is the way to win friends. The policy of one sided aid, especially when it is going to an organization which seems incapable of making good use of it, is both wrong and foolish.

Ten Million Houses

CHINA'S housing needs are estimated at 10,000,000 units, according to a survey made by CNRRA some time ago and recently published in a United Nations study entitled, *Housing and Town and Country Planning*. These houses should average about four rooms each and thus would mean that China actually is in need of some 40,000,000 rooms. If one estimates that a minimum of three people live in one room in China, the country's total population needing housing would come to, say, 120,000,000 or approximately one-fourth of the population. CNRRA's former director, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, blames the Sino-Japanese War for much of the housing shortage, estimating that 42,000,000 people moved a distance of between 100 and 1,000 miles from their homes during the war.

While such figures are at best mere approximations, it is obvious to any observer here that millions of new homes are needed, both for the homeless and for the hopelessly over-crowded.

The report pointed out that CNRRA had abandoned its house construction program because of lack of funds and that the Chinese Government was now faced with the problem.

It was further said that the destruction caused by the war actually offered municipal and other authorities an excellent opportunity for city planning. Studies, it said, had been made in some areas such as the Wuhan cities of Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow, where a survey, investigation and research activities, training of staff and technical personnel, and financial questions had all been "considered." There were, though, the report indicated, certain difficulties anticipated because the high land values, the acquisition of real estate by wealthier individuals as a hedge against inflation, shortage of technical personnel and capital all constituted rather formidable hurdles.

While one might be inclined to shrug off this report as another piece of CNRRA foolishness, it is all too true that China is desperately in need of housing. It is more than likely that Dr. Tsiang's exact figures, which probably were obtained from a source about as reliable as a crystal ball, may turn out to be in error only because they are too small. Dr. Tsiang's estimates were all made on the basis of destruction caused by the war with Japan. Since then there has been some pretty extensive destruction in parts of the country not affected, or only lightly touched, by the Sino-Japanese conflict. In places such as Tientsin and Peiping, extensive house destruction was carried out by Government troops clearing fields for fire just before the surrender. Nationalist bombing of cities surrendered to the communists has added to the destruction.

Even under the best of conditions, say, before the Japanese attack, there probably were millions of people in China who needed houses. In addition, it might be guessed that the vast majority of the population already housed is in need of new quarters or at least extensive repairs to their existing homes.

A walk through any Chinese city or village, including Shanghai, will reveal the pitiful state of the nation's housing. Sometimes, when one passes a doorway and observes a half dozen or more people sitting in the semi-darkness of one room, it is difficult to imagine how China escapes with only periodic outbreaks of epidemic diseases.

Perhaps nowhere else in the world is the crowding so great. The fact that this has been a more or less traditional condition can possibly be seen in many of the characteristics commonly thought of as being peculiar to the Chinese. Things such as the ability to concentrate in the midst of what seems to a foreigner to be complete bedlam and the general absence of any apparent desire for privacy can, we believe, be traced back to the crowded housing conditions universally found in this country.

If Dr. Tsiang's report impresses upon the United Nations and the individual governments in a position to lend aid the need for a helping hand in solving the housing problem, it will have been well worthwhile. This is certainly one of the first problems to be tackled once the Civil War ends. Millions of people will need transportation back to their native places and, when they arrive, they will need housing. This will be a major task for the authorities and if some assistance can be obtained from abroad, it would indeed be in a good cause.

Capitalist Confusion

IN its battle against the spread of communism, the United States, as the leading capitalist nation, is spending a lot of money and effort on foreign aid programs, propaganda, and other instruments designed to bolster its position and influence the people of other countries. The communists, led by the Soviet Union, are doing their best to counter these moves. At the present time, it is an all-out battle, involving many methods which the squeemish may view with distaste. So far, the struggle has been short of actual shooting, although it is often referred to as a "cold" war which is getting "hotter" by the minute.

While we are far from being of communist persuasion, we must admit that the Reds are past masters in spotting shortcomings in the capitalist system. All too often, we believe, the capitalist world, instead of examining itself and attempting to plug up some of the holes, seems content to deny that any weaknesses exist and to claim that anyone who says he sees a soft spot is merely echoing the communist line.

The economic machinery in the United States frequently develops a rough spot which needs to be smoothed out. Last week, we pointed out that there was ample justification for the Government to engage in building some additional industrial plant facilities, particularly in the case of steel mills, as a means of ensuring an adequate supply of steel for the nation's economy.

Another indication that all is not so rosy as some propagandists would have us believe can be seen in the periodic agitation from various interested quarters for legislation which would artificially protect markets. Since the American system is theoretically based on the idea of free enterprise, the very thought of erecting tariff

"THE THINKER"

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barriers or other artificial blocks is a contradiction. An example of how a narrow vested economic interest operates was contained in a press agency dispatch this week from Washington which reported that a group of congressmen from Western states were lodging a protest with the US Army for buying Argentine beef for shipment to American occupation forces in Japan.

These men, representing the cattle-growing section of the US, are interested primarily in keeping beef scarce so that the price will remain high. Their view is extremely short-sighted in that they seem unable to realize that a price rise in one major product, no matter whether artificially induced or a consequence of factors beyond human control, will most certainly result in following price hikes in other items. Any advantage to be gained will be shortlived at best. It goes without saying that these men show no concern whatsoever for the consuming public.

These are the same congressmen, it might be pointed out, who are forever attempting to force the US Government to mint more silver dollars so that the silver producing areas, also in the Western part of the United States, will enjoy greater prosperity. Some of them have, upon more than one past occasion, suggested the granting of a silver loan to China. Their interest is not in China, but in the silver mining areas of the US.

Such events illustrate all too well the fact that some producers in America and their representatives in government are interested only in narrow economic ends and refuse to survey the situation as a whole. The fact that such interests as these are able, from time to time, to gain their ends is proof that the system is not faultless. No system is perfect which permits the few to profit at the expense of the many.

A more extreme example of the narrow economic outlook was contained in a recent story from Rio de Janeiro which reported that Brazilian business circles were most disturbed over the prospects for development of tropical Africa. These circles were said to be opposed to the British and American plans for opening large areas in British Africa to agricultural and other development. Such an attitude is, of course, ridiculous in a world as short of food as this one is.

The capitalist system is having a rough time today. If present indications are any criterion, it is on its way out in many countries which have decided that a socialist form of economy will work better. The United States is a very wealthy country and probably can continue in its present fashion for a more or less indefinite period. However, considerable streamlining is needed. Increased regulation of certain lines of endeavor to make certain that the public interest is being served is in order. If the American system fails—or if it fails to impress others—it will be because of faults left uncorrected.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

Telephone Service

March 8, 1924.

The newspapers recently contained reference to methods for improving telephone service in two widely separated parts of the globe. In Minneapolis, Minn., George S. Grimes brought suit against a telephone company for G.$3,000 damages charging loss of business and wear and tear on nerves resulting from inefficiency of the telephone service. He finally compromised the case for G.$475. The other case happened in Canton when General Chen Lu, commissioner of police, after experiencing considerable difficulty in getting the telephone operator to connect him with his office, sent for the operator and put him in jail for several days as punishment for inefficiency.

* * *

River Pilots

All the pilots who take steamships between Ichang and Chungking have gone out on strike after having received a threatening letter from the native junk men which states that they want to murder all these pilots as the former have deprived the latter of means of livelihood. These pilots after having received the letter solicited the Customs authorities to give them necessary protection, but the authorities have put the demand aside and therefore the pilots have carried out a general strike.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Chekiang Guerrillas

March 11, 1939.

Eighty thousand Chinese peasants in coastal Chekiang province have been given rifles; ten thousand organized guerrillas and a varying but lesser number of regular troops have the anti-Japanese movement of the province well in hand, according to a competent military source near Shaoshing.

Tactics of these armed forces are similar to those of their brothers in the more famous Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army. Those two organizations are Communists, but Chekiang's forces have no such connections. A few individuals are Kuomintang party men, the rest unaffiliated.

Their tactics include disruption of communications lines, raids on garrison positions, filching of food and ammunition supplies.

* * *

Pacification Of North China

Following the "completion" of Japanese mopping-up operations against Chinese "stragglers," 90 percent of the districts in North China are now subject to the authority of the Provisional Government, a *Domei* message from Peking announced February 24. It was claimed that almost the whole of North China is now safe for travel by civilians, except an area south of the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway, a hilly region east of the Tatung-Puchow Railway, part of the area southeast of Tsinan, part of the easternmost areas of the Shantung promontory, and an area east of the Shensi border.

In apparent contradiction of Japanese claims to have almost completed pacification of North China, reports received in Chungking and relayed to Shanghai by *Reuter* announced, also on February 24, that more than 10,000 Chinese troops under Chen Tung-lai, Pai Hsui-ting, Chow Wen-lung and Hu Shih-hai, who hitherto have fought on the Japanese side, mutinied February 21 at Lianghsiang and Fanshan, on the Peiping-Hankow Railway. The mutinous troops, it was declared, were engaging Japanese forces southwest of Fanshan in the vicinity of Yangfumachuang.

NANKING COLLEGE CRISIS

(The author of this article, a Nanking professor, prefers to remain anonymous—Editor.)

NATIONAL Central University had been quiet on the surface for almost a year. After the troubled days of last spring following the May 20 demonstrations, the students' self-government had been disbanded and all extra-curricular activities prohibited. There were no more public student gatherings and the stately auditorium, the center of such activities, had been locked up for 12 months. Now and then students were arrested for reasons never explained, but this usually occasioned only a few fruitless demonstrations on the part of their fellow students and the collegians, to keep out of trouble, devoted themselves entirely to their studies.

The first sign that this period of hibernation was coming to an end was the panic that seized the city of Nanking as the Communist troops approached near the capital. The frightened bureaucracy stampeded out of the city and the question arose of whether or not to move the university south.

The university authorities, backed up by the Minister of Education, planned to move the whole university, should time and travelling facilities permit and, if this were impossible, at least a part of the library and apparatus, along with a few influential professors. Actual arrangements were made to this effect; books and important documents were packed up and emissaries sent to Taiwan, Foochow and Canton to look for accommodations.

When these measures were announced, however, they met with strong opposition on the part of the faculty and students who, seeing the example of the universities in the North, insisted that educational institutions should not be affected by political changes and that the probable dangers of a short, chaotic period were far more palatable than the hardships of a long, precarious journey.

"Wait-and-see" Policy

This attitude created an awkward situation for the president of the university, Chow Hwun-ching, and he therefore adopted a "wait-and-see" policy, meanwhile trying to work on the professors individually. His efforts in this direction were cut short, however, when the Faculty Council decided by an absolute majority that National Central University should remain where it was and that no plan for removal should be considered.

Chow, consequently, had to pocket his original plan. He next formed an emergency committee, wholly under the control of the school authorities, with himself as president and Professor Li Shu-tan as vice-president. At a meeting of this committee on January 26, Chow disclosed that the university had stocks of some 2,000 piculs of rice and 2,500 tons of coal—enough to meet its needs for three months. At the same time, he renewed his proposal to move the university, but was vetoed by the professors present at the meeting. Thus, his second attempt was blocked.

The students were on the alert from the beginning of these developments. The so-called "Democracy Wall" resumed its function as a vox populi, and on it were displayed numerous expressions of opinion. On January 26, the students of the College of Sciences proposed the calling of a meeting to represent that part of the student body which remained in Nanking (by this time, two thirds of the students had left the city) for a discussion of problems which might arise in the emergency. The next day, a conference of representatives from 41 departments took place and subsequently a 14-member Students' Emergency Committee was elected, with each college represented by two delegates.

President Leaves

It was at this meeting that the alarming news was received: President Chow, without informing anyone at the university ahead of time, had left Nanking, together with the Dean of Discipline, Sa Sho-king, and the university's business manager, Go Ting-pang. They took with them the university's emergency funds, amounting to some GY70,000,000, and an additional sum obtained through the secret sale of 50 movable houses at Ting Chia Chao.

The Students' Emergency Committee went into action. Going at once to the Comptroller's Office, they found to their dismay that only GY11,000,000 was left. Chow's assurance that the university had enough foodstuffs and fuel for three months also had been false. There were only 450 piculs of rice, 100 bags of flour and 70 tons of coal—a fraction of what he claimed had been stored away.

Meanwhile, the university workmen, who had been on strike since that morning, swarmed around the auditorium demanding GY10,000 each for emergency purposes. Although their claim was justified, it posed a serious problem to the students, for there were more than a thousand workmen and it would take almost all the remaining funds to pay them.

After serious deliberation, however, the students yielded and paid the workmen off to their satisfaction.

By this time it was growing dark and the meeting had not yet decided what to do. One of the professors moved that they parade to the Ministry of Education and present a petition for aid. His proposal met with unanimous approval, and the students joined file and marched to the Ministry.

But they arrived to find only an empty building, since it was after office hours. They next went to the President's office on Kuo Fu Road, intending to appeal directly to Li Tsung-jen, but found him away too. At last a high ranking official came out and promised on his word of honor to hand the petition to the acting President, saying if he failed he would kill himself right before the petitioners.

Better Than Nothing

Just at this juncture, word was received that another group of delegates headed by several professors had managed to see the Minister of Education at his home and had obtained his promise to give them GY10,000,000 or GY15,000,000 to tide the school over. Although this was far less than what the students had hoped for, it was better than nothing, and at about 10 p.m. the procession returned triumphantly to the university.

This was the first public activity in which the students had engaged since last May 20 and, in spite of the lack of preparation and organization, they had conducted themselves in excellent order. The familiar song, "Union Is Strength" and the slogans, "We Want To Live," and "Release the Detained Students" that thundered so mightily in the court of the Ministry of Education brought back memories of the time two years earlier when the University had been active on a similar occasion; it had now come back to life after a long silence.

The next day, January 28, was the eve of the Lunar New Year, a festival of great jubilation in China, but for the students it was perhaps the most difficult day during this troubled period. First, the funds appropriated to the college by the Ministry of Education were not meant for the students alone, but had to be distributed among all members of the University, including the professors and employees, all of whom had the right to demand GY10,000 each for emergency purposes. However, the professors were fully in sympathy with the students and entrusted the funds to the Emergency Committee for the good of the whole institution.

Then another difficulty presented itself. Rumor had it that the workmen, discovering that the students had four or five hundred piculs of rice stored away while they them-

selves had none, planned to take the provisions by force. The guards were doubled and word was passed around that in case of anything extraordinary an alarm would be sounded to summon the students to the defense. Fortunately, the workmen finally listened to reason and after much persuasion came to realize the importance of the whole university's uniting to get by the emergency.

It should be mentioned here that during this period of anarchy not only had the school authorities fled but the school police also had been ordered to withdraw, and the campus was thus left in a defenseless state. Temporary squads of guards and night patrols were organized by members of the College of Engineering. There were other jobs that had to be done. Purveyors were sent out all over the city to collect foodstuffs, and provisions had to be carried from the kitchen storehouse to the cellars below the auditorium and the library. Almost every student was engaged in some sort of emergency work and did his task willingly and in high spirits.

The chaotic condition caused by the departure of the authorities did not last long. On January 30, the Faculty Council held a full meeting and organized a Provisional Executive Committee to be in charge of the University administration. They decided that the University should still open on February 7 and classes commence on February 14 as originally scheduled in the University calendar.

Order Restored

New arrangements were made with regard to the emergency work. It had always been felt that the closer the whole University stood together, the more efficient the work would be. An emergency committee on a university-wide scale was therefore organized, with the professors and students represented by 41 members, the assistants by 14, employees by eight, and the workmen by five. The school police were ordered back and the campus was again restored to peace and order.

The result of the first petition to the Ministry of Education had been GY11,000,000, of which very little was left after the purchase of 340 piculs of rice. On February 1, another appeal was made to acting President Li Tsung-jen for further help, but this was not altogether successful. The delegates were promised GY50,000,000 and 2,500 piculs of rice within three days, but they received only GY30,000,000.

It is now more than a month since the flight of the University authorities and the college has passed safely through its crisis. The number of students returning to the campus increases each day and all academic work is being resumed. President Chow is reported to have sent in his resignation.

There are still hard times ahead. But the students are not afraid. They have learned how to bridge over an emergency by their own united efforts and they feel equal to any tasks that may lie ahead.

Pacific Northwest:

Letter From Seattle

S. E. SHIFRIN

Seattle, February 22.

THE popular tune "On a Slow Boat to China" is still among the top seven best-selling records in the United States. During the past few weeks, to the casual newspaper reader, this country appeared to be slowly making up its mind.

There has been talk of the new Secretary of State Dean Acheson working on a new policy for China. This would only be natural, but so far no official comment has been forthcoming which might give some inkling as to what a new policy would be like. As far as Washington comment is concerned, the events of the last 30 days just never happened.

To the average American the situation must appear very perplexing. For years he has been reading about the corrupt Nanking Government and the series of defeats suffered by the Nationalist armies, and the threatened removal of the capital to Canton probably came as no great surprise. But the question which bothers him now is how a complete Communist victory in China will affect his own country, and what should and can be done about it while the United States is fighting its cold war with Russia.

While the China situation as seen from this side of the Pacific still remains confused and the lines of a hypothetical settlement hazy, experts on Asia are taking it more and more for granted that America will have to face a China under the control of the Communists and are quite willing to go on record about it and even speculate as to the future.

To the importers and exporters of the Pacific Northwest, and for business interests here in general, the question of what relations the United States will have with a Communist-run China is of particular importance because the future of Seattle as a great port city to a large extent, hinges on the volume of trade it has with the Far East.

Last week, during his visit here Mr. Clayton Lane, new executive secretary of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, had something reassuring to say on the subject. It is a significant comment on the importance of news about China in this community that interviews with him were buried on the 18th and 10th pages of the locally-owned "*Seattle Times*" and the Hearst "*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*" respectively. The American IPR is an information-gathering and disseminating organization which expresses no views of its own, and Mr. Lane, although on a visit in his official capacity, was speaking for himself and for himself alone. However, he was speaking with the authority of a quarter of a century in the Foreign Service of the United States.

To a reporter of the "*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*" he declared: "The Chinese Communists will be adverse to us and our principles, but the compulsion of their requirements will make them turn to us. Then government and business should pursue a policy that will warrant the confidence of the Asiatics.

"If we don't, the other crowd, the Soviets, will contrive to take full advantage of the distress and miseries of Asia. By giving real cooperation to Asia we can have Asia on our side. If we let things drift, it could lead to another conflagration."

Two days later, addressing the annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest division of the American Institute of Pacific Relations he said:

"The Chinese Communists, in whatever area they may control, will probably apply a considerably modified Marxism. They are real Marxists, but they must operate under the circumstances and compulsions of China, which has neither a real proletariat nor a capitalist system. Land reform will be extended, but extensive collectivization is a long way off. Many private enterprises and much private trading will continue."

He continued, "Mao Tse-tung, Communist leader, will emphasize long-range modernization to give China a more balanced economy. This requires capital. To get it from us, as in large part they must to succeed, the Chinese Communists must provide adequate assurance of its protection and profitable use and repayment. This will provide opportunities for material benefit and cooperation, both economically and politically. But we must expect the Soviet Union to obstruct such accords. We must also recognize our opportunities when we see them.

"The recent New Delhi conference of Asian and Pacific countries, in all representing half the world's population and a third of the United Nations members, gave us all clear warning that there is a new Asia. Our calculations in our own interest, in our cold war, and for world stability, had better take into account the urgent necessity to keep Asia on our side. The alternative would threaten our own security."

What veteran ex-diplomat Lane seems to have had in mind is some shrewd horse trading with the Chinese Communists, and in return for US capital he seemed to think that this country could get a pretty good deal. Just as interesting at the present juncture is his underlying conviction that America cannot simply ignore a Communist China, or in other words—"You *can* do business with Comrade Mao."

How Safe And Sound Is Fukien?

Lin Chen-keng

GREAT importance is now being attached to the state of affairs in South China, and plans for building up this area are being put into execution. Fukien province, together with Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan province, is assuming a significant position as more and more Government institutions, industries and cultural organizations shift their activities to this area. Some authorities have even gone so far as to consider Fukien China's future "revivication fortress."

However, from a historical and geographical point of view, Fukien is by no means equal to this task. Fukien has never played an important role in the history of China.

Because of its topography, Fukien has extremely poor communications. It is the only province which does not border on any of the fertile valleys of the Heilungkiang, Yellow, Yangtze or Pearl rivers. It is surrounded by mountain ranges on the north and west and is so isolated that it is not a thoroughfare for inter-provincial communications.

Military Disadvantages

Fukien is also a poor potential war base. Because of its lack of strategic points, Fukien has seldom attracted the attention of military authorities. It has never been the scene of decisive national or regional battles and has usually been left alone in time of war. During the war of Resistance Japanese forces took the important provinces of Chekiang, Kwangtung and Kiangsi in order to control southeastern China, but did not bother about Fukien. They seized Foochow and Amoy temporarily only to resist a possible landing of US forces.

In addition to its poor communications and military disadvantages, Fukien has not had much influence with regard to political affairs and has never been a center of political activity. When the last emperor of the Sung dynasty was forced to move to South China, he chose Kwangtung over Fukien. Another emperor, Yung-li of the Ming dynasty, tried to use Fukien as a revivication base, but he soon shifted to Kwangtung. The "Fukien Rebellion" staged by the "People's Government" was suppressed within a short time. These instances demonstrate that Fukien is not suited for political activities.

Fukien is also poor in natural resources and manpower, and ranks among the least productive provinces. Except for the tea of Wu-yi and fir from the Minkiang valley, both of which can be marketed in considerable quantity, Fukien's agricultural products can supply only local demand. Before the war, Japan went after the natural resources in Northeastern and North China, but made no effort to exploit Fukien, even though it is so close to Formosa. Once the Japanese were told that in Anki, a district in central Fukien, a group of farmers had discovered an iron ore deposit. They sent 17 engineers to the area who dug in vain for half a year.

Economy Precarious

As far as manpower is concerned, Fukien's population is only 11,000,000. The province at best is short of productive labor and could not afford to have its youth conscripted. The majority of Fukienese today can scarcely earn a bare subsistence. Although overseas remittances are received regularly, they can only partly make up for Fukien's inadequate production. Thus, Fukien is in a precarious economic position.

If, in spite of all these disadvantages, Fukien should be called upon to make up a defensive base, however, the outer line of defense would have to be formed along the Yantung mountain ranges (雁蕩山) in southeastern Chekiang, the Tienmu mountains (天目) in western Chekiang, the Yellow mountains in southern Anhwei, and Lake Puyang (鄱陽) in central Kiangsi. If this is done, the best base of operations would be Chuchow. But the Chuchow Pacification Headquarters has been abolished and a Foochow Pacification Headquarters established in its place. Fukien thus has become the frontier of the defense line. Can it hold out by itself?

Aside from its military disadvantages, Fukien cannot be compared in productivity and economy with Szechuen, the most important base of operations in the Japanese war. Fukien is too poor to feed large numbers of troops and would be placed entirely at the mercy of an attacking force.

No Normandy

Some people envision making Formosa the "revivication fortress" of China, with Fukien as its spearhead. However, it is doubtful whether Formosa can be compared with the British Isles and Fukien with France. If the French people could not protect France against enemy attack, how could the Fukienese guard Fukien? And how can 6,000,000 Formosans be compared with 50,000,000 English people? It is sheer nonsense to think of using Fukien as a Normandy on which to land and launch an attack on 450,000,000 people on the mainland.

As witnessed by US strategy in World War II, the Far East was subordinated to Europe for three years. Should another war break out, General Marshall and his followers would again consider Europe first. And should the Pacific Ocean eventually become a battlefield, the US is likely to use the Japanese islands with a population of 80,000,000 people as the British Isles, not Formosa; and to use Korea as a Normandy, not Fukien which is 6,000 li away from the Northeastern provinces.

The same discrepancies hold true for those who think that since the KMT laid the foundation of the revolution and unification of China in Kwangtung province it can revive itself in Fukien now. Fukien has only one third the population of Kwangtung, and because of its unproductivity it has always been a subordinate province. Economically, its revenues from provincial taxes are less than those of Chungshan (中山) in Kwangtung or even Shaohsing (紹興) in Chekiang. How could it become the leading province in China? How could it even support itself? How could it afford to maintain another Northern Expedition?

Contemporary Characters

上海雜景

Figures familiar to every Shanghailander are portrayed in this cartoon from a local Chinese paper. From left to right, top row, are pictured: A stockbroker, familiarly known in Chinese circles as a "rat" because he makes money from both buyers and sellers; a member of the "Yellow Ox" gang selling silver coins; and a tram conductor, here dubbed an "official" because of his indifference toward his passengers. Bottom row: A "paper tiger" standing on top of his supply of hoarded paper; a rich person's "branch factory," i.e., concubine; and a tram ticket taker, here called "son of the boss" because he acts as if he owns the street car.

Japanese Philosophy And Politics

Joshua W. K. Liao

(This is the second of a series of three articles on the history of Japanese philosophy—Editor.)

PROHIBITION of foreign aid was not the only Tokugawa way of preventing local rebellion. Every feudal lord was required not only to leave a permanent hostage at Edo (江戶 present Tokyo), seat of the Tokugawa *Shongunate*, and visit the *Shogun* annually, but also to accept instructions and publications issued and distributed by the *Shogun*. For the last purpose, shrewd Ieyasu enlisted the support of scribes and scholars from all over the country. Thus, in 1593, he summoned Fujiwara Shoka (藤原惺窩), a Sinologist of the realist school of Ch'êng Hao (程顥) and Chu Hsi (朱熹), and for over two centuries thereafter Chinese realism became the "government school" of thought in Japan. Cultural stagnation and ideological tyranny reached its peak in 1790, when the Tokugawa *Shogunate* officially patronized only Chu Hsi's trend of thought and proscribed all other channels as heresies.

Realism vs. Idealism

Meanwhile, in 1644, a younger contemporary of Fujiwara Shoka, by the name of Nakae Toju (中江藤樹), began to openly preach the idealist school of Lu Hsiang-shan (陸象山) and Wang Yang-ming (王陽明). Preferring the life of a private scholar, he taught and wrote and earned the epithet of the Sage of Omi (近江聖人), after his native state of Omi (present Shiga Prefecture 滋賀縣). Thereafter practically all of his followers remained in the opposition camp.

From the beginning of the Tokugawa *Shogunate* discontented warriors and liberal thinkers would in private denounce its policies of international isolation and academic discrimination, oppression of the feudal lords and exploitation of the masses of the people. Yet they could not but bide their time. Feudal lords of many frontier states would none the less gladly patronize them.

In 1853, when Commodore Perry arrived at Uraga (浦賀) with four American gun-boats to seek an amicable treaty-conclusion, the anti-foreign *Shogunate*, in view of the foreign superiority in arms, was at a loss what to do. It condescended to consult the feudal lords about the matter but could make no decision. At the beginning of the next year, Perry again came. The *Shogunate* instructed the feudal lords to consolidate all coastal defences, but arbitrarily promised the Americans to open two ports, Shimota (下田) and Hakodate (箱館), and to supply them with water, fuel, and foodstuffs. Two months later, a young progressive patriot and adherent of the idealist school, Yoshida Shoin (吉田松陰) was caught trying to go abroad in an American boat. So was his teacher, Satsuma Zosan (佐間象山). Both were implicated and imprisoned the following month. When released in 1856, Shoin opened a private village school, teaching Mencius in particular and agitating for revolution against the *Shogunate* and restoration of imperial rule.

To Shoin and his associates, who identified knowledge and conduct as taught by Wang Yang-ming and justified the overthrow of any tyranny as advocated by Mencius, the government's difficulty was always the opposition's opportunity. As expected, the Tokugawa *Shogunate*, which had so long isolated the Empire from the outside world, now found itself hardly able to solve the urgent diplomatic issues to the satisfaction of the displeased *Mikado*, the enraged feudal lords, and the impatient foreigners. In 1857, it referred the matter of treaty-conclusion to the feudal lords and early the next year memorialized it to the Throne. In March, 1858, the *Mikado* refused to authorize the *Shogunate* to conclude any foreign treaty, but in June the latter concluded one with America, and in July treaties with Russia, Holland, and England. This arbitrary action was denounced by the opposition leaders all over the country as usurpation of powers. To subdue the assaults, the Shogunate had recourse to terrorism, detecting and arresting all radicals. In consequence, Umeta Unhin (梅田雲濱) died in jail in 1859, and Yoshida Shoin Hashimoto Sanai (橋本左內) and several other comrades also were put to death.

Anti-Foreign Movement

While airing the wrongs of these young patriots, a number of feudal lords and local warriors assaulted the *Shogunate's* weak-kneed foreign policy and memorialized to the *Mikado* the policy of "expelling foreigners." In consequence of the anti-foreign movement, warriors of Nagato (長門 present Yamaguchi Prefecture 山口縣) bombarded American boats passing by in May, 1863; and in July there occurred friction between the inhabitants of Satsuma and English navigators, when the English shelled Kagoshima. In August, 1864, an allied fleet of English, American, French, and Dutch vessels shelled Shimonoseki (下關) in Nagato. Blaming Nagato for harboring fugitives and antagonizing foreigners, the *Shogunate* now decided to send a punitive expedition against it. Amidst diplomatic and domestic difficulties, the expedition failed to make progress except for provoking Nagato to ally with Satsuma in 1866 and Nagato, Satsuma, and Tosa (土佐 present Kochi Prefecture 高知縣) to agree to restore imperial rule in lieu of military dictatorship. A secret campaign against the Shogunate was planned; a secret edict from the Throne to censure it was issued, too. The Shogunate at first thought of offering resistance but, on realizing its unpopularity and precarious position, stopped short and instead towards the end of 1867 offered to return the reins of government to the *Mikado*. In March, 1868, the last Tokugawa *Shogun* personally visited Kyoto to apologize to the Throne. This marked the beginning of the Meiji Restoration—the outcome of the two century struggle between government and opposition, between centralism and feudalism, and between realism and idealism.

In 1869, the feudal lords, too, returned the reins and domains of the local governments and were like hereditary Court ministers made nobles. At the end of the year all *Samurais* were grouped into the class of knights to be distinguished in name from the commoners but deprived of all previous bounties and privileges. Nevertheless, *Bushido* continued to influence Japanese life and thought the more, after being spurred by military conscription from the inside and fused with Prussian militarism from the Occident.

Liberalism And Utilitarianism

JUST as academic Chinese philosophy rose with the Tokugawa *Shogunate*, so was Occidental philosophy introduced and expanded after the Meiji Restoration. Such was the shock created by Commodore Perry's fleet that sensitive Japanese at once perceived the need for cultural reformation, political re-orientation, and social adjustment of the whole country to the world, and as soon as they found the *Shogunate* incompetent for such a task the same needs became the causes of its overthrow and the revival of imperial rule. These far-sighted Japanese knew they had to learn Occidental ideas in order to change domestic institutions, and these changes were carried out by both government and people hand in hand.

As early as 1860, Fukuzawa Satoyoshi (福澤諭吉) returned from abroad, founded the Keio Institute (慶應義塾) in 1865, which grew into Keio University later, and in 1866 published his Occidental Affairs (西洋事情). Similarly, Nishi Makoto (西周), sent abroad to study in 1862, came back in 1865 and the next year published his *Thorough Renovation* (百一新論), in which for the first time in Oriental History he coined and used the binominal term *tetsugaku* (哲學) for "philosophy," exactly one year before the Emperor Meiji's accession.

In 1868 the young *Mikado*, in accordance with Kido Takayoshi's (木

戶孝允) memorial, promulgated his five oaths promising the people basic human rights. In 1872, the solar calendar was adopted; the universal military conscription law was promulgated; and the new educational system was inaugurated with stress on scientific studies and nation-wide patriotism instead of feudalistic loyalty. The Army, dominated by the Nagato Clan, was modeled after that of the Germans; and the Navy, dominated by the Satsuma Clan, after the British. For, when Yamagata Aritomo (山縣有朋) from Nagato and Saigo Tsugumichi (西鄉從道) from Satsuma returned from an inspection-tour in Europe in 1870, they organized a corps of imperial guards taken from the three clans of Nagato, Satsuma, and Tosa —the leading loyalists in restoring imperial rule. The new troops became the nucleus of subsequent fighting forces with German-educated generals like Nogi (乃木), from Nagato, Katsura (桂), and Kodama (兒玉) as commanders and the English-trained Admiral Togo (東鄉) from Satsuma who came to be known as the Japanese Nelson. Thenceforth military leadership remained under warriors from the two progressive and aggressive frontier states, Nagato and Satsuma.

Western Thought

In 1877, the Government founded Tokyo Imperial University, which offered no course on philosophy in the beginning. Though an American Professor of Philosophy was offered a chair in 1878 and a Philosophical Association was organized in 1884, it was not until 1887 that Professor Inoue Enryo (井上圓了) founded the first Department of Philosophy and the same university began to publish the *Philosophical Magazine* (哲學雜誌).

Earlier than this, the introduction of Western thought had already begun, first through translations, then through exposition, and finally through development. In 1871 the Christian Bible was translated. In 1875 the most famous Protestant mission school, Doshisha (同志社), was founded by Joseph Hardy Niishima (新島襄), one of the greatest Christian leaders and educators of Japan. It was Nishi who devoted the remainder of his life to introducing and expanding Western philosophy until his death in 1894, bequeathing to posterity his *Theory of Knowledge* (知說 1874), a Japanese version of Mill's *Utilitarianism* (1876), *A New Theory of Logic* (論理新說 1884), etc. Hattori Toku's (服部德) Japanese translation of Rousseau's *Social Contract* appeared in 1877; its Chinese version by Nakae Chyomin (江中兆民), in 1882. Likewise, Nagamine Hideki's (永峯秀樹) version of Guizot's *History of European Civilization* appeared in 1877; and Ohishi Masahe's, (大石正己) translation of *Spencer's Principles of Sociology*, in 1877; and Miyake Ojiro's (三宅雄二郎) translation of Ward's *Sociology*, in 1888.

By such scholastic works the liberal trends of current politics were certainly revealed. In 1881 Iwakura Tomomi (岩倉具視), head of the goodwill mission sent to Europe and America in 1871, submitted to the Throne his memorial for the drawing up of a Constitution; whereupon the Emperor announced the inauguration of the Diet in 1890 and the promulgation of a Constitution even before that time.

Prior to the Government's move for constitutionalism, there had already appeared the first popular spokesman for liberalism and democracy in the person of Kato Hiroyuki (加藤弘之). As early as 1865 he compiled a table showing the rise and fall, strength and weakness, of Occidental nations. In the year 1867, when Meiji ascended the throne, he completed his *Discourse on Constitutionalism* (立憲論政體). In 1874, he published his *New Discourse on the Form of the State* (國體新論), *Freedom and Self-Government* (自由自治) in 1876, and *New Theory of Human Rights* (人權新說) in 1382. Deriving his utilitarianism and individualism from Darwin's doctrine of evolution but basing his whole system of thought

on Häckel's matrialism, he had difficulty coordinating the former's democratic ideas with the latter's totalitarian tendencies. By the horns of Kato's dilemma were augured the two incompatible forces which have struggled with each other throughout subsequent Japanese politics—liberalism and despotism, democracy and dictatorship.

Meanwhile, Fukuzawa published his *Division of Powers* (分權論) in 1887; Ozaki Yukio (尾崎行雄), his *Representative Government* (代議政體) in 1881; and Nakae, his *Discussion on Parliament* (國會論) in 1888.

The year following Iwakura's submission of his memorial on constitutionalism, Ito Hakubun (伊藤博文) was sent as the head of a delegation to Europe and America to study the constitutions of the various Occidental nations. In the same year (1882), Ohkuma Shigenobu (大隈重信) organized the Constitutional Reformatory Party and also founded Tokyo College, which later grew into Wasada University. Likewise, Fukuchi Genichiro (福地源一郎) organized the Constitutional Imperial Rule Party. So splendid was every preparation made for the adoption of Western ideas and institutions that the Occident suddenly found Japan its most promising pupil in the Orient.

On February 11, 1889 the Constitution of the Japanese Empire was promulgated. It had been drawn up not by the people's delegates to any national assembly but by the brain-trust of the *Mikado*, who later became the *Genro* (元老) or Elder Statesmen. Having found the Anglo-American systems too liberal and the Russian too conservative, these law-makers chose the German for a model. Because the Constitution had to be approved and issued by the Emperor, whom it revered as sacred and inviolable, it was drawn up so that it could be amended only on the Emperor's initiative. Moreover because loyalist warriors had achieved merit in restoring imperial rule and eventually assumed military leadership, the Constitution not only placed the fighting forces under the Emperor's supreme command but also the Army and Navy Ministers, who were not to be selected by the Premier but suggested by the warriors and appointed directly by the Throne. Thus, while in name these ministers were subordinate to the Premier, in fact they were co-equal with him. Though co-equal, they caused no obstacle if they were cooperative; but if they were not cooperative, they could act at their own pleasure. So long as liberalism and parliamentarianism retained the upper hand, the Military behaved cooperatively. But as soon as Japanese philosophy and politics inclined to despotism and totalitarianism, the Military began to act independently. When Japanese policies of expansionism and militarism fused with German jingoism and Italian Fascism assumed the shape of Nipponism, the Military appeared to dominate every cabinet. In short, from the day their Constitution was published, their policies headed for Mukden and Pearl Harbor, and their surrender aboard the *Missouri* was sealed.

In February, 1889, the Election Law for Representatives and the Organization Law for the Peerage were promulgated. Next year, in July, the Representatives were elected. In December, the Diet was inaugurated, electing Ito Hakubun as Chairman of the Peerage and Nakajima Nobuyuki (中島信行) as Chairman of the House of Representatives. The English-educated Ozaki Yukio, author of the famous *Representative Government*, elected in 1890, has been re-elected every time since, having thus witnessed all the vicissitudes of Japanese liberalism, democracy, and representative government.

Interest In German Philosophy

As politics became more active, public opinion grew calm and philosophical activities became largely academic. However, mature thinkers like Nakae and Kato were still expounding the philosophy of materialism. The latter even advocated atheism and denounced every form of religion.

For a while after the introduction of democratic institutions, evolution-

ism and utilitarianism continued to hold sway. In no time, however, the *Philosophical Magazine* showed a turn in academic interest away from English and French toward German philosophy, with numerous articles on Kant, Hegel's dialectic, English neo-Kantianism, von Hartmann, Schopenhauer, Wundt, Nietzsche, Lots, etc., as well as German-educated American philosophers like Ladd and James. Nakae translated Schopenhauer's ethical writing in 1894; Kiyono Tsutomu (清野勉) wrote his commentary on Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1896; Mori Ohgai (森鷗外) translated Goethe's *Faust* in 1913; Okamoto Haruhiko (岡本春彦) wrote on *Schelling's Symbolic Thought* in 1918; Amano Sadasuke (天野貞祐) translated Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1921; and Tanabe Hajimu (田邊元) published his *Hegelianism and the Dialectic Method* in 1932.

Occidental Influence

During this period an Occidental professor of philosophy who exercised a direct influence upon philosophical studies in Japan was Dr. Raphael Koeber. From 1893 to 1914, he taught in Tokyo Imperial University, and died in 1923. Meanwhile, Occidental-trained Japanese scholars began to apply historical methodology to their research and produced masterpieces in their own language on the History of Philosophy and Religion—for example, Ohnishi Iwau's (大西祝) *History of Occidental Philosophy* in 1895, Anezaki Seiji's (姉崎正治) *History of Indian Religion* in 1897, Ondo Takayoshi's (遠藤隆吉) *History of Chinese Philosophy* in 1900, Kubo Tenjui's (久保天隨) *History of Japanese Confucianism* in 1904, Hatano Seiichi's (波多野精一) *History of Occidental Religion* in 1921, and Ui Hakuju's (宇井伯壽) *Studies in Indian Philosophy* in 1924. Likewise, there appeared in Japanese general expositions and textbooks such as *Logic* (1893) and *Ethics* (1896) by Ohnishi, *Introduction to Philosophy* (1900) and *Descartes* (1904) by Kuwaki Genyoku (桑木嚴翼), *A Study of Spinoza* (1911) by Anezaki, of *Introduction to Science* (1918) by Tanabe.

The Government nonetheless moved nearer to England and France as indicated by the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, the victorious war against Russia with Anglo-American aid in 1904 and 1905, and the repeated formation of the cabinet from 1906 onwards by the French-educated Prince Saionji (西園寺公爵), whose public life remained the symbol of Japanese liberalism till his death in 1940.

Education, on the contrary, looked toward Germany. Berlin and Leipzig, Heidelberg and Freiburg all became the Meccas of Japanese students from the end of the 19th century. Earnest and diligent, they strove to learn as much as they could while abroad, and some of them even made scholarly contributions like Ehrlich-Hata's (秦) co-discovery in 1911.

The Week's Business

THE so-called Financial Reform Measures so far have failed to stabilize market conditions. On the contrary, they have stimulated speculation and pushed up financial quotations and commodity prices, as can be seen from the figures in the bottom of this page.

The UU or Utility Unit, which the utility companies introduced with the approval of the authorities for the collection of utility charges, is meeting strong opposition from ordinary consumers and industrial plants, and is on its way out. It remains, however, for the utility companies and the authorities to work out a satisfactory substitute plan for the collection of utility fees. The cost of living index figure may very likely be applied in this case as it is in the payment of wages and salaries.

Strong opposition was also voiced by manufacturers against the collection of commodity taxes in silver dollars or in commodities. The cigarette manufacturers declared that this change means an increase of the commodity taxes on cigarettes by virtually 120 percent. As a result, it was reported that the authorities are considering the collection of commodity taxes in Customs Yuan, the special currency designed for the collection of Customs duties.

Other activities taken by the authorities to enforce the new financial reform measures include the establishment of special finance bureaus in Shanghai and in Canton. The duty of these bureaus is to stabilize the financial market by the sale of gold through the Central Bank once again. The price is to be fixed by each bureau at 9 a.m. daily.

This practice was inaugurated in Shanghai on March 8, when 290 ounces of gold were sold to the gold and silversmiths shops at GY228,000 per ounce. On the next day, the Central Bank continued to sell gold at the price of GY250,000 per ounce, but the open market rate shot up immediately to GY310,000. It is hard to see how this system, which has failed repeatedly in the past, will succeed this time in stabilizing the market.

The plan of the Nanking Government to reopen the Gold Exchange in the near future will not be able to absorb the large sums of Shanghai's idle capital any more than the reopening of the Securities Exchange. The only effect it may have will be to legalize speculation and push up financial quotations which in turn will cause further increases in commodity prices.

With increasing idle funds remitted to Shanghai from all parts of the country, especially Taiwan, during the past week, the local market money remained on the easy side with interest rates quoted at around seven to eight percent per day. They easy trend was accentuated by the issuance of large numbers of GY500 notes to meet political and military expenses, and the Central Trust's dumping of GY1,000,000,000 on the market on March 8 to pay for frozen eggs also contributed to the easy situation.

Fragmentary reports from the North indicate more and more clearly the conditions under Communist rule. With progress being made in the restoration and resumption of postal service and shipping, observers believe that the time is drawing near for the resumption of normal trade relationships between North and South China.

The Communists are reported to have agreed in principle to the resumption of postal service, and five delegates of the Postal administration are expected to leave for Peiping soon to discuss technical problems with the Communist authorities. Meanwhile, the post offices have started to receive ordinary mail, small parcels, and printed matters for transmission to Tientsin and Peiping.

The telephone and telegraph services have never been cut off during these months of confusion, and at present telegraphic service has been extended to Tongshan, Tangku, and Chinwangtao. Meanwhile, commercial banks in Shanghai have started to accept money for remittances to Peiping and Tientsin.

The most important progress made so far is the resumption of shipping service. Following the successful trip made by the s.s. Greater Shanghai, other ships have been commissioned to sail regularly between Shanghai and Tientsin, and 300,000 bags of wheat flour are expected to be sent to the northern port in exchange for 100,000 tons of coal, which Shanghai's Power Company and industrial plants need desperately as local stocks are diminishing rapidly.

The Shantung Provincial Government under Communist rule has promulgated the first set of import and export regulations, giving in detail the kinds of goods to be imported and the kinds of goods to be exported as well as the amount of customs to be paid. Meanwhile industrial goods, including yarn and cloth, are being exchanged for coal along the Yangtze ports.

Judging from present developments, trade prospects are bright and if peace can be established, it will not be surprising to see the resumption of normal trade relationships in the near future.

The following table gives a comparison of quotations on March 2 and March 9:

	Mar. 2 GY	Mar. 9 GY
Gold	183,000	310,000
US Dollar	3,650	6,150
Clearance Certificate	2,890	4,710
Silver Dollar ..	2,000	4,250
20's Yarn	626,000	1,080,000
Rice	17,000	29,500
Wing On Textile	3.76	5.38

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Popular Pressure Brings Sun Fo Resignation; G'mo Asked To Go

UNDER overwhelming popular pressure, Sun Fo, head of the refugee government in Canton, finally tendered his resignation as president of the Executive Yuan. Sun's resignation had been mooted since his return to Nanking. Although he and his right-wing supporters did their best to hang on, public sentiment in the Legislative Yuan and in responsible Government circles was against him. When Sun fled to Canton, together with his cabinet, he thought Nanking would fall to the Communists in matter of weeks and he planned to set up his government in the south to continue the fight against the Communists according to plan. But things did not work that way, and Sun's plan not only misfired but also backfired. The mass exodus of Government agencies from Nanking in a virtual state of panic and confusion and the rumored embezzlement of public funds by several cabinet ministers during the evacuation completely discredited Sun Fo's cabinet. Moreover, in Canton his war talk found litle popular support and there was little for him to do in that city. Being afraid of losing his job, he hurried back to Nanking, although only a few days before he still said that his blood pressure was too high for air travel.

Once back in Nanking, Sun Fo immediately changed his tune and talked about peace, telling newspapermen at a press conference that he had come back to the capital to assist President Li Tsung-jen in opening peace negotiations with the Chinese Communists. He stressed that he had been the first Nationalist Government official to suggest making peace with the Communists. But the majority of the Legislative Yuan did not take his remarks seriously and considered him an obstacle to peace. In responsible Government circles, it was thought that Sun Fo's actions had done more harm than good to the Nationalist cause and that the scandals involving several ministers of his cabinet were a glaring disgrace to the Government.

Politically speaking, the downfall of Sun Fo's cabinet may be viewed as an important victory for the peace movement in this country. As things stand nowadays in China, it is utterly impossible for any responsible statesman to openly advocate continuing the civil war without ruining his political life.

* * *

Die-Hards To Carry On

ALTHOUGH Sun Fo is gone, the war mongers are as active as ever. The notorious red-baiter Pan Chao-ying went on record against making concessions to the Communists. He predicted in Canton that any move of the Nationalist Government to hand over China to the Communists under the guise of an "honorable surrender" would result in the setting up of a separate Legislative Yuan at Canton. The majority of the legislators now residing in Canton, however, have already indicated their willingness to return to the capital once a face-saving device can be found.

According to the *AP*, one of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's strongest backers in Canton also warned Nationalist China against surrender to the Communists. Addressing a weekly Kuomintang rally, Ku Cheng-ting, minister of organization of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, denounced the sort of peace sponsored by General Fu Tso-yi in Peiping. In Ku's view, the Nationalists must overcome the present attitude of "defeatism and surrender." He branded as wishful thinking predictions that Mao Tze-tung would set up a China free of ties with Soviet Russia. The Chinese Communist party is a satellite of Moscow, he said, and the policy of the Chinese Communists is in accord with Cominform plans for world revolution. Ku called the Communist land reform a fraud aimed at gaining the support of the lowest elements of Chinese society.

* * *

Peace Formula

IN view of the impending opening of peace talks with the Reds, President Li Tsung-jen has appointed a 10-man special committee to draft a peace formula for submission at the forthcoming peace conference. Serving on the committee are Sun Fo, General Wu Te-chen, General Chang Chih-chung, General Chang Chun, General Ho Ying-chin, General Liu Fei, Shao Li-tze, Chu Chia-hua, Wu Chung-hsin, and Chung Tien-hsin. It is understood that the Committee has already completed a tentative set of peace proposals, which will be thoroughly discussed before the final draft is prepared. General Chang Chun is said to be the author of this draft.

Under the committee there are three sub-committees: A military sub-committee composed of Generals Ho Ying-chin, Chang Chih-chung, and Liu Fei; A political sub-committee composed of Chang Chun, Shao Li-tze, and Wu Chung-hsin; and a foreign affairs sub-committee composed of Sun Fo, Wu Te-chen, and Chu Chia-hua.

It is understood that initial agreement has been reached in principle regarding the basic items of the Government's peace blueprint. In order to seek greater unity, President Li Tsung-jen has summoned General Chen Cheng, Governor of Taiwan, General Chu Shao-liang and General Hsueh Yueh, Governor of Kwangtung, to Nanking for consultation. It is generally believed that the future conference between President Li and these generals, who are known to be faithful followers of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, will have a great bearing on the peace negotiations between the Government and the Communists.

* * *

Whither The Gimo

THE future of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is causing considerable speculation in the capital. According to a *Reuter* story dated March 5 from Nanking, the "Chiang Must Go" campaign is gathering momentum. Two members of the 10-man committee entrusted with writing the peace formula (General Chang Chih-chung and Wu Chung-hsin) are understood to have flown to Fenghua to ask the Generalissimo to hand over full powers to Acting President Li Tsung-jen, to cease interfering in the Nationalist peace move, and to go abroad.

Latest reports state that General Chang Chih-chung has been asked to stay with the Generalissimo and his family have been asked to send his summer clothing to Chikow. The future whereabouts of General Chang is being watched with interest.

Meanwhile, the Chinese press in Nanking has been agitating for the Generalissimo to refrain from interfering in Government affairs. According to *Reuter*, one paper said editorially that everybody knows Chiang is continuing to issue orders and that acting President Li Tsung-jen is merely a nominal administrator. "We regret to say," the paper is quoted as saying, "that the situation is even worse than it was before Chiang left Nanking. If the Generalissimo thinks he can succeed in remedying the present situation in China, he should return immediately to Nanking. If he thinks he cannot, it is advisable for him to go abroad immediately."

The *National Salvation Daily* was more outspoken. It editorialized on March 5: "We do not mind whether there will be peace or war, but what is more important for China is that Chiang Kai-shek leave the country. If Chiang Kai-shek continues to command from behind a curtain, we can never have peace.... Consequently, the country will perish. Communist spies everywhere know much better than we

that Chiang Kai-shek still is the overlord in China."

* * *

Freedom Of Press

THAT very night, the *National Salvation Daily* was ordered to suspend publication for three days by the garrison commander headquarters on charges of "libeling the good name of President Chiang Kai-shek." A spokesman for the headquarters revealed that the order came from General Tang En-po, Shanghai - Nanking - Hangchow area commander.

Commenting on the ban, *Reuter* wrote: "The crackdown on the paper was carried out only a few hours after the Executive Yuan passed a resolution abolishing the special criminal courts and national emergency regulations. The regulations were the legal means established of prosecuting persons on political grounds during the period of campaign against the Communists. The Executive Yuan resolution followed a decree promulgated by Li Tsung-jen releasing political prisoners and abolishing regulations allowing the arrest and prosecution and punishment of individuals for political reasons."

Reuter added that this was the second newspaper in the capital banned by the garrison command since Acting President Li Tsung-jen announced political reforms for Nationalist China including the lifting of all restrictions on freedom of speech and publication of newspapers.

The ban was resented by most legislators. *Reuter* interviewed a good number and discovered that they discounted the charges raised by the garrison headquarters. Liu Pu-tung said: "It is unconstitutional and contrary to democratic principles." Another legislator, Fan Yuan-sheng, said: "There is nothing in the editorials harmful to the peace and order in Nanking. Suppression of the paper and the arrest of its editor is improper."

Reuter noted: "The action against the paper may bring to a head increasing complaints from the public and members of the Government against Chiang Kai-shek's continued manipulation of both military and civilian agencies nominally under the control of Li Tsung-jen."

Kung Teh-po, publisher and editor of the *National Salvation Daily*, held by the garrison authorities for a "stern warning", refused to be released. He wanted to know why he had been detained.

* * *

War Preparation

IN anticipation of any possible breakdown of peace negotiations, the Government made no secret of its plans to make the necessary war preparations. *UP* reported March 6 from Nanking that top Government military leaders were discussing a plan for complete reorganization of the army. The army organ, *Peace Daily*, disclosed that military leaders were probing the overburdening financial and personnel setup of the army with a view to revamping and reforming the fighting services. It was understood that a military reform committee has been formed under the direction of General Ho Ying-chin to work with the various pacification commanders in initiating reforms.

The Communists charged that the Government is actually planning an army expansion program to train and equip two and a half million men. Nationalist war preparation measures, as listed by the Reds, are as follows:

1. Reactivation of 120 armies and organization of 400 divisions.
2. Recruiting and conscripting of 2,500,000 new troops.
3. Re-enlistment of demobilized officers.
4. Organization of new armoured corps.
5. Expansion of the air force and "use of American volunteer pilots."

The Red radio further charged that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was personally directing the army expansion plan and that he had told Shanghai Mayor K. C. Wu to wait patiently for three months until the completion of war preparations.

The *Associated Press* revealed that for the time being the Ministry of National Defense in Nanking is raising 20 new Nationalist armies in various provinces, with a total of about 500,000 men.

* * *

US Aid Not Wanted

WITH the opening of peace talks between the Government and the Communists now definitely in sight, it is interesting to hear renewed talk about American aid to China. Roger Lapham is reported to have recommended to the Senate-House watchdog committee a US$240,000,000 aid program for Nationalist China. In Nanking, Lapham's suggestion was hailed with great hope. *AP* reported from the capital: "Acting President Li Tsung-jen was expected to begin weaving the hope of steady American aid to White China into the fabric of current high-level talks on peace negotiations with Red China. The tidings that Lapham had asked for US$240,000,000 to help China flowed through a hope-dry Nanking like oasis water. One official was quoted as saying the aid prospect alone boosts Nanking's bargaining power with the Reds."

Meanwhile, it is reported that Chinese banker Hsi Teh-mou is on his way to the United States as Nanking's special envoy to seek a silver loan of US$200,000,000.

A large group of Chinese professors in Nanking issued a manifesto voicing their protest against any foreign aid to China at the present time. The Catholic organ, *Yi Shih Pao*, opposed further American aid to China, charging that American aid to the Chinese Government has been responsible for prolonging the civil war three years. The paper, which in the past has taken a bitterly anti-Communist line, said that the current American program represents political interference.

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Chinese Magazine Roundup

Lao Pai Hsing

THE relative strength of the Nationalist and Communist armies along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River is analyzed in the *Lao Pai Hsing* magazine of February 18. According to the magazine's estimate, the Nationalists have only 400,000 men to defend the Yangtze against a numerically superior Communist task force of 16 columns of regular troops, excluding local irregulars.

"After the battle of Hsuchow," the magazine writes, "the Nationalists lost the major portion of their crack divisions and a hasty withdrawal southward had to be effected in order to save troops for the defense of the Nanking-Shanghai area. Judging from press reports, the strength of the Nationalists along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze is as follows:

1) Wuhan area: General Chang Kan's second army group of about 60,000 men.

2) Wuhu area: General Liu Luming's army group comprising the 68th, 55th and 96th armies.

3) Nanking: The 45th and 52nd armies.

4) Shanghai: The 75th army.

5) Pukow: General Li Yen-nien's Six Army Group comprising the 39th and 53rd armies.

6) Nanking-Shanghai line: The 51st and 4th armies.

7) Ichang-Shasi area: General Sung Hsi-lien's army group.

8) Anking-Kiukiang area: General Hsia Wei's army group.

9 Tsungming Island: The 208th Youth Army.

"To this we must add General Hou Ching-yu's 35,000 men who have been withdrawn from Tangku and General Yang Kai-tsai's 20th army from the province of Szechuen. . . . All these units make up a total of less than 400,000 men. It need hardly be said that this force is too small for the defense of the Yangtze River."

Turning to the Communist side, the magazine says: "First, there are the units under the command of General Chen Yi. In the area along the southern section of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway facing Nanking, 11 Communist columns are reported to have been concentrated, not including the native Red guerrillas. In the area opposite Chinkiang, two regular columns of the Communist regulars are massed. An unknown number of Communist troops are understood to be operating on the north bank of the river opposite Shanghai.

"Of General Liu Po-cheng's forces, the 4th and 6th columns are said to be moving toward the Shangyang regions. The first column is in Yen Cheng, the second and third columns in Sia Tsai and the 10th column in Kiang Han.

"The above-mentioned units under the command of General Chen Yi and General Liu Po-cheng alone total 16 columns, to which we must add the native Red partisan bands now scattered everywhere, which are a very important factor to be reckoned with when the Communist regulars start crossing the river."

The magazine does not think that the Yangtze will be able to offer any serious obstacle to the Reds if they intend to attempt to cross over.

"The theory that the Yangtze is an insurpassable natural barrier should not be taken too seriously," it says. "When the Red Army troops evacuated Kiangsi and set out for their historic march westward, they had only tens of thousands of men and the difficulties facing them were many times greater than any they might encounter when they attempt to cross the Yangtze. In spite of all this, the Reds eventually got to Shensi and established their headquarters at Yenan."

In conclusion, the magazine stresses that in the last analysis it is the man standing behind the gun, and not the gun itself, that counts. "After all," it says, "war is essentially a combat between men. While the battlefields may shift from time to time, men still remain the basic factor."

* * *

Masses Weekly

PROFESSOR Liang Sou-ming's article "Who Should be Held Responsible for the Civil War," as printed in the *Ta Kung Pao*, has drawn a sharp blast from the Communist *Masses Weekly* of February 3. The magazine charges that Liang distorted facts and tried to pull the wool over the eyes of the people.

"Liang's article was published at a time when the American-Chiang coalition, having been beaten by the forces for the liberation of the people, is attempting to change its tactics by conducting a false peace offensive to gain time for making preparations for a comeback," the magazine declares. "Liang, under the guise of impartiality, asserted that now that the war mongers are no longer in power the war should stop. It is quite obvious that his real motive is to halt the progress of the revolution so as to enable the American-Chiang combination to preserve as much of what is left as possible.

"In his article, Liang resorts to leger-de-main to fool the people in an attempt to absolve the United States from all responsibility in China's Civil War. He tries to treat the war merely as a fight between the Kuomintang and the Communists and ignores completely the true nature of the counter-revolutionary and anti-people's war launched by the American-Chiang coalition, as well as the true nature of the revolutionary struggle led by the Chinese Communists against American imperialism, against feudalism; against bureaucratic capitalism and for the liberation of the people.

"Liang even tries to absolve the Kuomintang reactionary government from responsibility for China's war, or at least to reduce the American share in this responsibility. He says that from July 1946 to November of the same year the Kuomintang wanted to fight and that after this period it was the Communists who wanted war. To his way of thinking, the Kuomintang only wanted to fight for a five-months period, while the Communists have been for war for more than two years. His line of reasoning inevitably leads to the conclusion that the Communists should be held responsible for the prolongation of the Civil War, although he did not say so openly."

Refuting Liang's argument, the magazine points out that the Civil War in this country has been imposed on the Chinese people by the American-Chiang combination.

To Liang's statement that the core of the war problem changed daily, so much so that he could not "point his finger at any specific problem", the magazine replied that in doing so Liang was deliberately trying to make the readers confused. It pointed out that the basic crux of the problem lies in the expansionist policy of American imperialism and in the Kuomintang's scheme to retain its dictatorial rule.

The magazine says that Liang let the cat out of the bag when he said at the end of his article: "What the people expected of the Kuomintang before is what they are expecting of the Communists now. The war mongers are no longer in power so the Civil War should not go on any longer." It commented: "Liang thinks that the Communists of today are like the Kuomintang of yesterday. The Kuomintang wanted war then, and the Communists want war now—that is what Liang is driving at. In the past, the people opposed the Kuomintang for its wanting to continue the Civil War, so the people now must fight the Communists for continuing the war. This is what Liang meant to say, although he used more polite language."

The magazine warns: "Between the revolution and the counter-revolution, between democracy and counter-democracy there can be no real neutrality. If 'neutrality' is insisted on hypocritically, and if even 'impartiality' is claimed, the day must come when the truth will come out."

US Magazine Roundup

US News & World Report

JOSEPH Fromm, *US News & World Report* correspondent who recently completed an eight month tour of the Far East, reports in the January 28th issue reasons "why the US is failing in Asia." His dispatch says in part:

"Americans are rapidly losing face in the Orient. A reservoir of US good will, built up during World War II, is about drained dry. In a vast expanse that is home for a billion people, affection for America, amounting to hero worship a few years ago, is turning into deep resentment now . . .

"Thoughtful people in Asia are fearful of a US policy intended to build up Japan. They resent America's role in China and are suspicious of US motives in Indonesia, Indo-China and other territories where native leaders are struggling for independence.

"There is a feeling that US policy —or the lack of a comprehensive over-all policy for Asia—not only is alienating a billion friends and potential allies, but has prompted millions of bewildered people to turn to the Communists for leadership . . .

"Hostility toward the US has intensified throughout Asia during the last year or so because of the trend of American policy in Japan. Chinese of all factions fear Japan is being restored to war-making strength by the US. This correspondent, in one week, heard this fear expressed by a premier, a businessman, a labor leader, a newspaperman and a banker. All feel that the attempt to build a strong Japan in a chaotic Orient is tending to preserve the power of the 'old gang' that plotted and ran the war.

"The Chinese are not alone. The people of the Philippines are, if anything, even more bitter about American policy in Japan. The Filipinos, as one of them put it, feel that the vanquished now is emerging as the victor and the victor is being treated as the vanquished."

Fromm concludes: "Throughout Asia, the story of disappointment at the US has been repeated since the end of the Japanese war. It was the American promise of the Four Freedoms, distributed in propaganda leaflets over British protests, that encouraged Burmese nationalists to gain their independence. In Malaya, the people were sure the Americans, not the British, would liberate them from the Japanese. They plastered their towns with signs that read 'Nippon Go—America Come!' US stock was high in those days. But it is high no longer.

"An eight-month tour through 10 countries of the Far East leaves an American correspondent with these impressions:

"Chaos continues in Indo-China and Indonesia and the United States —fairly or not—is being given a large share of the blame.

"US policy of supporting and subsidizing the Chiang Kai-shek Government in China has cost hundreds of millions of dollars without any visible effect on the Communist drive to dominate China. Now US prestige is slipping.

"US policy of pushing recovery in Japan is alienating those Asiatic countries whose cooperation is essential to Japanese recovery. There is increasing speculation in the Far East that the end product of the occupation might be a Japan that will not be solvent, democratic or a dependable ally of the West.

"Over all, a correspondent with years of experience in the Orient winds up extensive travels convinced that American policy in the Far East has, in three years, cost the US most of the good will it once enjoyed in this complex region."

* * *

NY Times Magazine

DR. Ho Yung-chi, who is described as a teacher, author, former general and several times emissary of China on international missions, proposes a course of action for the United States to take in China in a letter to the *New York Times Magazine* on December 6.

Commenting on an article written by Nathaniel Peffer which offers three alternatives to the US—continue "frittering away money in the name of aid," make a "forcible intervention in China," or "do nothing at all"—Dr. Ho writes:

"With full respect to the professor, it is contended here that there is a fourth course of action open to the American Government and people which, we think, is the best under the circumstances. This is: To send immediately food, fuel, clothing, and other necessaries of life—*not* guns, airplanes or even industrial machineries—to China and let the International Red Cross administer their distribution to the Chinese people, *not* their officials."

Dr. Ho then answers "some expected questions" regarding his plan. "Why the Red Cross? Why not ECA?" he asks, and replies: "Because ECA is political. By that I mean that ECA is an agency of the American Government and at this stage of Sino-American relations all American Government agencies in China, rightly or wrongly, are viewed with suspicion. This is not only in Communist China, but also in Nationalist China, where recipients of American aid have had a good taste of arrogance borne of the benefactor's being over-conscious of himself. This is why, as an answer to a tongue-lashing by the American Ambassador at Nanking, Chinese professors and students haughtily returned their American ration cards, though they were on the verge of starvation.

"Why International, rather than American Red Cross? Because you can get better results in China by working through an international agency with an international staff and an international outlook than through an American agency, however efficient and high-minded, during a period, which is temporary of course, when the Chinese people are touchy at all things American."

"Then, why not the United Nation? Why not UNRRA? Because UNRRA has been closed and the United Nations is a cumbrous set-up which moves slowly and is often subject to veto. Besides, both have to work through the present Chinese Government alone (because the United National recognizes only the present Government) and cannot work directly on the people.

"Then why not let both ends, the sending as well as the receiving ends, be non-political? Because only the American Government, which has much greater resources than a private organization, can make the necessary appropriations commensurate with the immensity of the tragedy in China . . .

"Wouldn't that make the sending, the appropriating end political? Yes, but that is all right if the American Government is willing to consider China aid as pure civilian help, something like the sort of help to US farmers, exacting no political returns. Nevertheless, there will be political returns, though in the case of China, it may take years or even generations before political dividends to America can become evident."

Dr. Ho then illustrates his point with a story about Meng Chang-chun, the Duke of Hsueh and Prime Minister in the Kingdom of Chi in the fourth century B.C., who sent an emissary to collect debts owed him by the peasants and instructed him to buy with the money "something I haven't got here." The emissary burned up all the peasants' promissory notes and returned empty handed, explaining, "You have got everything here except *yi*, or, justice. I bought that for you by burning up all the IOU's." Years later, when the Prime Minister was dismissed by the King and had to flee for his life, the people of his Duchy protected him, and he was saved by the *yi* his emissary had bought.

Dr. Ho draws his moral: "America is the Meng Chang-chun of modern times, as rich and powerful as he when a Prime Minister. But the Wheel of Fortune turns and no man, no nation can remain always on top. Some day America may need a Duchy of Hsueh; but before she can have one handy in time of need, she must first buy *yi*."

What Chinese Papers Say

CHINESE newspapers were significantly divided in their editorial comments on Roger Lapham's proposed US$240,000,000 aid to Nationalist China. Kuomintang-controlled sheets hailed Lapham's recommendation with enthusiasm, while independent papers rejected the offer lest the peace prospects should be endangered. The replacing of Molotov by Vishinsky as Soviet foreign minister was regarded as a further strengthening of the Soviet diplomatic set-up in anticipation of new developments in the strained world relations.

* * *

US Aid

THE Kuomintang organ *Shun Pao* went on record as being deeply "touched" by Lapham's statement on future aid to China. It wrote among other things: "Though we have no access to the details of Lapham's China-aid plans, we cannot but feel touched by his statement, which testifies to the valuable sympathy for the Chinese people on the part of our foreign friends. China is an industrially backward country. As the result of eight years of Sino-Japanese War followed by three years of civil strife, the rural districts in China have been ruined to the brink of complete bankruptcy. Under such circumstances, it is only natural that the Chinese people should have expected help from friendly nations."

However, the paper regarded the proposed amount of aid as too little and asked for more.

"A monthly allocation of US$20,000,000," the paper continued, "is of course an insignificant sum. If this amount is to be used to finance the economic rehabilitation of China, it would be like trying to put out a blazing fire with a glassful of water....It is hoped that the American authorities will be more realistic. If China is to be aided at all, the aid should be given in both military and economic fields. Piecemeal assistance cannot help things."

An opposite view was expressed by the independent *Ta Kung Pao* which points out that American aid to China at the present time is aimed at playing a political game.

The paper read political significance into Lapham's proposed aid to Nationalist China. "There is great difficulty in differentiating between the military and non-military nature of such aid and the issue can only produce unnecessary political disputes in this country," the paper said. "When we have achieved internal peace and unity we shall welcome foreign aid to help our economic rehabilitation."

According to the paper, the very news of Lapham's proposal has had political repercussions in Nanking and Canton. "Official circles in Nanking and Canton felt jubilant and it is believed that the morale of the Kuomintang army would be greatly lifted and the position of the Nanking Government would be strengthened in barbaining with the Communists," it observed.

Tracing the history of American aid to China, the paper came to the conclusion that such aid has done very little, saying:

"Leaving aside matters of the distant past, let us just look at the American aid given this country during the last year. We find that military assistance was virtually a wasted effort and has only brought about the present situation in which the armies of the two warring parties were facing each other on the two sides of the Yangtze. And what concrete achievements have resulted from U.S. economic aid? During the last year, the budget deficit increased with the changes in the military situation, currency inflation was accelerated, prices rose steadily, and agricultural and industrial production decreased . . .

"The most urgent economic problem in China is the balancing of the State budget and the reduction of the currency issue in order to arrest the continuous soaring trends of commodity prices. For if prices continue to rise uninterruptedly, the domestic economic structure will be disorganized, all economic activities cannot be pursued along normal courses, and all plans for the improvement of the situation will be futile, while no reform measures can be carried out. Tracing the source of the trouble further, we find that the Government is unable to balance its budget because of the existence of a state of war. Since American aid cannot solve the problem of the war, it will not be in the position to assist this country to settle her economic difficulties.

"With reference to the US$270,000,000 American aid given China during last year, the portions earmarked for industrial rehabilitation and equipment, amounting to US$70,000,000, and for administrative expenditure, amounting to US$1,200,000, could not basically be used for the reduction of the budget deficit or for calling in currency notes in circulation. On the other hand, because of rehabilitation activities undertaken, an increase in the currency issue was brought about. The sums earmarked for the purchase of cotton, amounting to US$70,000,000, were expended for cotton purchases against which cotton yarn was obtained in exchange, half the yarn thus obtained being exported abroad, and the remaining half either sold in the domestic markets or else used for the bartering of farm produce. That is to say, the whole capital payment in connection with the cotton purchases was practically frozen. The food supplies purchased with US$70,000,000 of the aid fund were used for rations in the six principal cities in the country, but because of the lack of an established policy in the fixing of food prices, the efforts to absorb currency with the sales were largely wasted. As to the distribution of fertilizer supplies valued at US$13,800,000, much time and energy was wasted on consultation and red tape, so that the public really did not receive any real benefit."

* * *

Soviet Diplomacy

THE *Tung Nan Jih Pao* did not think that Soviet foreign policy will undergo any change under Andrei Y. Vishinsky, the new foreign minister. The paper said:

"The current changes in the diplomatic personnel of the Soviet Union will not affect her foreign policy, but rather constitute an important step for the strengthening of her diplomatic line-up. However, the strengthening of her diplomatic line-up means greater vigor in the implementation of the Soviet foreign policy. At a time when the 'cold war' between the East and the West is carried on to such an intensified extent, the new development is worthy of great attention."

The paper further emphasized the fact that since both Vishinsky and Gromyko have a brilliant record in the diplomatic field, they will be expected to strengthen the diplomatic front of the Soviet government, saying:

"In recent years Vishinsky has represented the Soviet Union in both the General Assembly of the United Nations, and also at the Danube Conference. His pointed statements and sharp words have made him one of the outstanding diplomats. His promotion to the head of the Foreign Ministry not only shows that the foreign policy hitherto pursued by him will be maintained, but also that his methods in handling diplomatic issues have been endorsed and will be continued. At the same time, the newly promoted First Deputy Foreign Minister Gromyko is also world-famous as being the 'expert on the use of the veto power', and his work in the United Nations can well be compared with the activities of Mr. Vyshinsky.

"Moreover, the promotion to responsible positions of Vyshinsky and Gromyko shows that the Soviet Government is doing its best to promote men with capabilities for the handling of international issues, so that the Foreign Ministry may benefit by the practical experiences of these people to prosecute effectively a strong diplomatic war."

What US Papers Say

THE nature of communism and its spread, both in China and elsewhere in the world, was discussed prominently in the American press.

* * *

Internal Affair

THE *Washington Post* declared that the Revolution in China is an internal affair and cannot be understood outside the context of Chinese history. Russian domination, the paper said, would be impossible. The editorial stated:

"While the dust is settling in China, as Secretary Acheson puts it, let us reflect again on Communism there. It has been our thesis hitherto that what is happening in that great country is another immense convulsion in the travail that China has been undergoing since the Taip'ing rebellion of 1850-1864. The travail developed out of the impact of Western ideas and institutions upon traditional China. For a matter of 40 centuries prior to the Taip'ing rising, China had absorbed everything and everybody that came in contact with China. Its metabolism is a historical phenomenon. From the Nestorians and the Jews to the great Khans and the eighteenth century Russians —intruders disappeared into the mass of China. The last spectacle of the sort was the swift and remorseless way that the Chinese softened the invading Japanese. . .

"The revolutionary force which is keeping China in a ferment requires a catalytic agent in the form of a leader. None since the Taip'ing leader, Hung Hsiu-chuan, has yet measured up to the titanic task, and even Hung was frustrated after 15 years of conflict by foreign intervention on the side of the decaying Manchu dynasty of China. Will Mao Tze-tung be the catalytic agent?. . .

"Will Soviet Russia help Mao to complete his task or be asked for help? Either is doubtful. Soviet Russia got badly stung in the intervention of 1927 and, besides, the oldest state in the world is like the world's newest state of Israel in that it is in a fever of nationalism, and this does not comport with subservience. This nationalism is enhanced, moreover, by irredentism. Let us never forget that Nationalists and Communist in China are one in their anxiety to win back Manchuria, and there is only one 'treaty of national betrayal' left for the liquidation that Mao calls for, to wit, the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1945. Thus it is not strange that the Kremlin has been rather quiet about Communist successes in China, and that it has ordered its embassy in Nanking to follow the rump of the Chiang regime to Canton, being the only embassy to shift. Moscow, too, wants to see the dust settle before involvement is risked. It is nonsense to say that Stalin has hitherto given Mao anything substantial in the way of assistance.

"There is another factor to ponder, and that is that Chinese civilization is more alien to Communism than is any other civilization. . .

"If all this adds up to a potential Tito situation, well, that is merely the addition of ineluctable present-day facts. Mao, to be sure, has denounced Tito, but pronunciamentos in China are stylized affairs, as when a Chinese government abolished illiteracy by pronunciamento. A paper blast against Tito is thus not particularly significant. It is like figuring out how far the tide is going to flow to figure out the future of China. But what may be hazarded in front of a dust that has a Gobi density is that we are not witnessing in China foreign tyranny that is being imposed upon the Chinese people, that the Western World is facing a phenomenon more Chinese than Russian, and that the convulsion cannot be understood outside the context of Chinese history. If Russia took over China, the action would fly in the face of 4,000 years of history, and the sure end would be the absorption of Russia."

* * *

US Role

THE *Christian Science Monitor* criticized the Republican congressmen who have been insisting that Secretary of State Acheson pursue a tougher policy in China, saying they "are probably no less and no more concerned than Mr. Acheson or any other responsible American over what is happening across the Pacific. But they are apparently less well informed of the realities of the Chinese situation than they might be. . . What is needed is not a firm statement, whose only result would be to give emotional satisfaction to baffled Americans, but a firm grasp of the fact that neither the US nor any other foreign power can expect to pull strings that will make 450,000,000 Chinese dance obediently to its tune."

The *Washington News* continued to advocate support for Nationalist China, maintaining that, "if what remains of Nationalist China is to be saved from Communist occupation, money must be advanced to finance armed resistance. . . The whole Asiatic front will be exposed to Red attack unless the President and Mr. Acheson bring the State Department policy toward China into harmony with the Truman doctrine."

Communist Bandwagon

THE *Baltimore Evening Sun* commented on the recent statements made by Communist leaders in Western Europe, saying:

"With almost military precision, Communist leaders in Western Europe are lining behind Thorez's assurance that if war should come, good workers should forget their nationalist allegiance and support Russia. With Togliatti in Italy, Pollitt in England and Grotowohl in Germany all on the party line bandwagon, the roll call of major Western European countries is complete.

"The most obvious feature of these declarations is that Communist leaders in the West have finally said, in frighteningly precise language, that their allegiance to Communist Russia overrides their loyalty to France, Italy, England or Germany. But that unhappy truth has been apparent for some time. What is of particular interest is why they now choose to make quasi treasonable declarations that they have carefully avoided in the past.

"One possibility is that they are making another attempt to separate lukewarm Pinks from dependable Reds within their own ranks. In effect they have said 'Let's stop fooling. Choose between your country or Communism.' Another explanation is that for propaganda they are simply making use of the old debators' dodge—assuming something which would be unwise to debate. In this case Communist leaders have all assumed that possible conflict would be imperialist, aggressive war against the Soviet Union. Transparent as the device is, if the assumption is made often enough and loudly enough, there will be many who will accept it unconsciously. . .

"Whether such explanations really go to the root of the matter probably only the Kremlin leaders know. But an open confession of disloyalty is a serious matter. We may be sure that the current line was not ordered without serious consideration."

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* noted approvingly that France has arrested one alleged Communist leader and has accused another of turning over defense documents to a Communist newspaper. The paper said:

"The French Government isn't remaining idle or indifferent about problems presented by the Reds and Red sympathizers. The time is fast approaching when other nations, including our own, must grapple with this fifth column that calls itself a political party.

"No country can endanger its security by permitting an association under any name that is dedicated to espionage and sabotage on behalf of a foreign power to carry on its treasonable activities unhindered."

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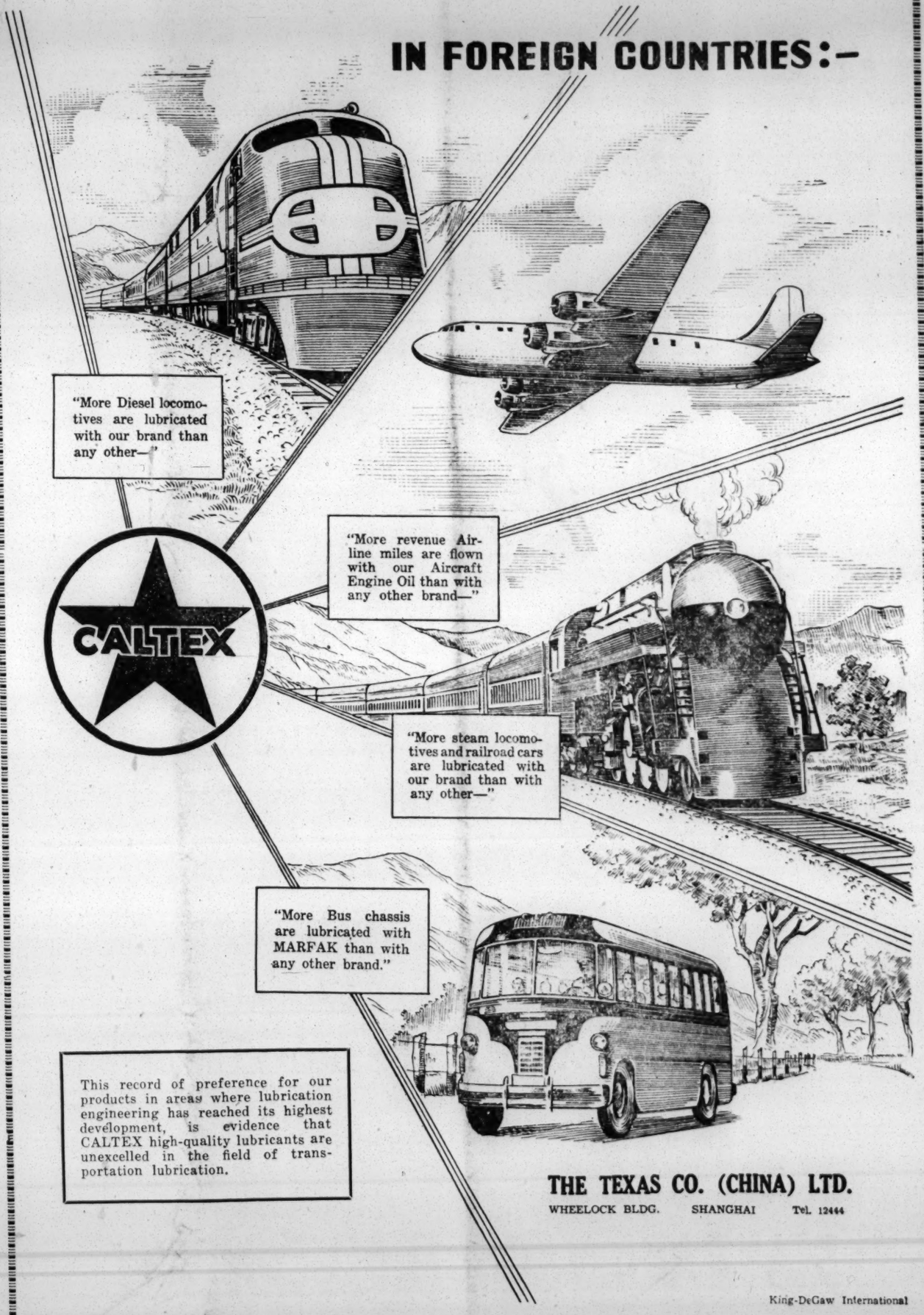

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